

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-20 NSC-10 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00

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DRAFTED BY DIA:JKELIHER:CAO
APPROVED BY ACDA:DLINEBAUGH
S/S - MR. GAMMON
PM - VBAKER
EUR/RPM:VLEHOVICH
OSD:RBARTHOLOMEW
JCS:COL.LAFFERTY INFORMED)
NSC:MPOWER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 214077

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: NATO TOE/OB CONFERENCE
REF: A. USNATO 5190 B. STATE 207835 C. STATE 211409
D. USNATO 5213 E. VIENNA 8919

1. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES GUIDANCE AND FURTHER EXPLANATION
OF NEW US DATA IN RESPONSE TO REF A, AND ADDRESSES PROPOSED
ALLIED APPROACH DISCUSSED IN REFS D & E.

2. AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE WE WOULD EMPHASIZE TWO POINTS:
(A) AS INDICATED IN REF C, NON SOVIET FORCES WERE NOT FULLY
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TREATED IN THE RECENT TOE/OB CONFERENCE, AND (B) THE NSWP

MANPOWER FIGURES SHOWN IN COLUMN B, PARA 3 OF REF A CANNOT BE AGREED TOE CONFERENCE FIGURES SINCE U.S. REPS AT THE CONFERENCE DID NOT ADDRESS SUCH FIGURES.

3. THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE CONFERENCE AS THE USG UNDERSTOOD THEM PROVIDED THAT TOE OF ARMY AND MD/FRONT LEVEL OF NON SOVIET WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AND SIGNIFICANT NON DIVISIONAL UNITS COULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE CONFERENCE DELIBERATIONS AT THIS TIME. IT WAS RECOGNIZED THAT IF THE NEED AROSE FOR AGREED TOE OF THESE FORMATIONS THEY SHOULD BE INCLUDED AT A SUBSEQUENT UPDATE OF THE TOE DOCUMENT. THE FIGURES FOR THE GDR, POLAND, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA ENUMERATED IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF REF A APPEAR TO HAVE USED TABLE G2 OF MC 161/73 AS A GUIDE IN DETERMINING NSWP MANPOWER FIGURES DERIVED FROM INCOMPLETE AND THEORETICAL FIGURES DISCUSSED AT THE TOE/OB CONFERENCE. THIS EXPLANATION IS SUPPORTED, IN PART, IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF REFERENCE A AS WE UNDERSTAND IT.

4. WE STILL HOLD AS VALID OUR PREVIOUS EXPLANATION OF THE INCREASE IN STRENGTH IN GSFG MANPOWER AS STATED IN PARA 6 A OF REFERENCE B, WHICH WAS AS FOLLOWS:

GROUP OF SOVIET FORCES GERMANY (GSFG): THE MANPOWER ESTIMATE FOR SOVIET FORCES IN THE GSFG HAS BEEN INCREASED TO SOME 360,000. OUR DETAILED JULY ORDER OF BATTLE FIGURE WAS 354,000--ROUNDED TO 350,000. WE HAVE MADE THE FOLLOWING ADJUSTMENTS SINCE JULY:

(I) REANALYSIS OF FUNCTIONS OF FRONT AND ARMY LEVEL REAR SERVICES RESULTING FROM UPDATED TABLES OF ORGANIZATION RESULT: PLUS 2,000 MEN.

(II) AN INCREASE IN SCUD TACTICAL MISSILE LAUNCHERS FROM 9 TO 12 PER BRIGADE IN 5 BRIGADES AT 200 MEN PER BRIGADE: PLUS 1,000 MEN.

(III) IDENTIFICATION OF THREE SA-6 SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE REGIMENTS AT 700 MEN PER REGIMENT: PLUS 2,000 MEN.

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THE NET EFFECT OF THESE CHANGES IS TO RAISE THE 354,000 MAN FIGURE TO 359,000 MEN OR A ROUNDED TOTAL OF 360,000 MEN.

5. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE SPC HAS ACCEPTED A FIGURE OF 460,000 FOR SOVIET GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE NGA IT IS OUR VIEW THAT AGREEMENT TO THE RATIONALE

DETAILED IN PARA 4 ABOVE IS OF LESSER PRIORITY THAN EARLY ALLIED FOCUS ON POLISH AND GDR FORCES. NONETHELESS, A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE WILL ULTIMATELY HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED. THE US FIGURE OF 460,000 IS OBTAINED BY ADDING 360,000 GSFG TO 30,000 NGF AND 70,000 CGF. ALLIED HOLDINGS OF 460,000 ARE OBTAINED BY USING FIGURES OF 350,000 GSFG, 30,000 NGF, AND 80,000 CGF. THE CGF FIGURE INCLUDES A SIXTH DIVISION NOT HELD BY THE US. SINCE A COMMON AGREED FIGURE OF 460,000 HAS BEEN OBTAINED YOU SHOULD NOT AT THIS TIME AGREE TO A FIGURE OF 355,000 IN GSFG AS SUGGESTED AS COMPROMISE IN PARA 5 REF C.

6. OUR VIEW ON GDR GROUND MANPOWER REMAINS AS STATED IN PARA 6 C OF REFERENCE B WHICH WAS AS FOLLOWS:

EAST GERMAN FORCES: 10,000 MEN ADDITION TO THESE FORCES STEMS PRIMARILY FROM AN INCREASE (8,000 MEN) IN PERSONNEL ESTIMATED IN REAR SERVICES AND MISCELLANEOUS UNITS. AN INCREASE IN OUR ESTIMATE OF STANDARD DIVISION MANPOWER AND IDENTIFICATION OF ADDITIONAL NON-DIVISIONAL COMBAT SUPPORT UNITS ACCOUNTS FOR THE REMAINDER.

7. OUR EXPLANATION OF THE INCREASE IN POLISH FORCES AS DESCRIBED IN PARA 6 D REF B ALSO REMAINS VALID, AS FOLLOWS:

POLISH FORCES: FOUR NON-DIVISIONAL SCUD RELATED MOBILE REPAIR UNITS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED RESULTING IN A NET INCREASE OF AROUND 3,000 MEN. THE REMAINING 7,000-MAN INCREASE REFLECTS ADJUSTMENT OF SEVERAL MINOR ORDER-OF-BATTLE AND MANNING ESTIMATES FOR DIVISIONAL AND NON-DIVISIONAL UNITS.

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8. WITH REGARD TO POLISH FORCES THE 10,000 DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 7 ABOVE WAS ADDED TO US HOLDINGS OF 200,000 FOR POLAND FOR A NEW TOTAL OF 210,000. TABLE G2 OF MC 161/73 CARRIES 190,000 FOR POLAND, SO THAT IF 10,000 WERE ADDED TO THAT FIGURE THE RESULT WOULD BE A TOTAL OF 200,000. THUS, A DISCREPANCY OF 10,000 WOULD REMAIN WHEN COMPARED WITH US ESTIMATES EVEN IF A 10,000 MAN INCREASE WERE RECOGNIZED.

9. THE US HOLDS A BREAKOUT OF POLISH GROUND FORCES TOTALING 210,000 AND GDR FORCES TOTALING 100,000, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE THIS INFORMATION.

10. AS NOTED SEPTEL, WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT AHG FORMULATION FOR TOTAL WARSAW PACT GROUND MANPOWER

CHARACTERIZED AS "MORE THAN 900,000" AS A STRICTLY
INTERIM SOLUTION. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE DISCREPANCIES IN
PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS, PARTICULARLY THOSE BEARING ON GDR
AND POLISH FORCES, SHOULD SOON BE RESOLVED SO THAT NATO
IS NOT HELD IN A POSITION OF BEING WITHOUT A DEFINITIVE
FIGURE FOR USE WITH THE SOVIETS AND WITH THE PUBLIC.

11. SINCE ALL FIGURES ARE IN FACT ESTIMATES WE ARE
PREPARED TO DISPLAY SOME FLEXIBILITY WITHIN CERTAIN
RANGES OF UNCERTAINTY IN ORDER TO REACH AN AGREED
DEFINITIVE FIGURE BETWEEN 900,000 AND 925,000. THIS
MUST BE ADDRESSED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE214077
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JKELIHER:CAO
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS LINEBAUGH
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973102/aaaaaxe.tel
Line Count: 181
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. USNATO 5190 B. STATE 207835 C. ST, ATE 211409
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17-Aug-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <26-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NATO TOE/OB CONFERENCE
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: NATO VIENNA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005